## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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FM AMCONSUL LUANDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3195

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

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E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PINT AO

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENT: REFUGEES AND NATIONALITIES

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

REF: LUANDA 0058 AND PREVIOUS

- 1. WE PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED THE MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND ORGANIZAT-IONAL PORTIONS OF THE INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENT SIGNED ON JANUARY 15. TWO OTHER IMPORTANT SUBJECTS CONTAINED IN THE AGREEMENT ARE THE RETURN OF ANGOLAN REFUGEES AND HOW ANGOLAN NATIONALITY IS ACQUIRED.
- 2. THE PROBLEM OF THE ANGOLAN REFUGEES IN ZAIRE DATES BACK TO 1961, WHEN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NORTHERN ANGOLANS, MAINLY BAKONGOS, FLED BEFORE THE VIOLENT WHITE REACTION TO FNLA'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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UNSUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION ATTEMPT. THEY WERE GIVEN REFUGE IN THEN

CONGO LEOPOLDVILLE AND SETTLED INTO REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE AREA BETWEEN THE CONGO RIVER AND THE ANGOLAN FRONTIER, SOUTH AND WEST OF KINSHASA. IT IS FROM THESE PEOPLE THAT FNLA RAISED ITS ARMY AND RECEIVED ITS MAIN SUPPORT. WE HAVE NO RELIABLE FIGURES ON THE NUMBERS OF ANGOLANS IN ZAIRE NOW, BUT ESTIMATES RANGE FROM 500,000 TO 1,500,000. THE PORTUGUESE ARMY USES 750,000 AS THE MOST LIKELY NUMBER. THESE REFUGEES CONSTITUTE A VITAL ELEMENT IN FNLA PLANS TO DEVELOP A STRONG POLITICAL BASE IN ANGOLA.

- 3. THE INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENT STATES THAT "SOON AFTER THE INSTALLATION OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT" A MIXED COMMISSION WILL BE SET UP BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TO PLAN AND PREPARE AN ORGANIZATION TO RECEIVE THE REFUGEES. THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES, WHICH IS TO BE HEADED BY AN FNLA MEMBER. WILL SUPERVISE THE COMMISSION.
- 4. THERE ARE THREE POTENTIAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES. FOREMOST IS THE NEED TO RETURN THEM TO ANGOLA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THEY CAN BE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE LOG-ISTICS OF RETURNING THIS MASS, MANY OF WHOM SPEAK FRENCH AS A FIRST LANGUAGE AND DON'T REMEMBER ANGOLA. IS FORMIDABLE. SHOULD THE BULK NOT BE IN ANGOLA BY THE TIME THE PRE-ELECTION REGISTRATION IS TAKEN, FNLA MAY LOSE A SIGNIFICANT PERCENTAGE OF THEIR POTENTIAL VOTE. SECONDLY, MANY OF THE ANGOLANS HAVE LEARNED SKILLS AND ARE EMPLOYED IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF KINSHASA. IF THEY COME BACK AT ALL MANY WILL HEAD FOR LUANDA AND NOT THE RURAL NORTH. THIS IS POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE. AS MOST URBAN WORKERS IN LUANDA ARE MPLA SUPPORTERS AND THERE WILL BE DIRECT COMPETITION BETWEEN THEM IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A SHRINKING JOB MARKET. LASTLY, THE DEPARTURE OF THESE SEMI-SKILLED WORKERS FROM KINSHASA HAS TO BE APPROVED BY AND COORDINATED WITH THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT. ZAIRIAN SOURCES IN LUANDA TOLD US THAT ZAIRE WILL NOT STOP THESE REFUGEES FROM RETURNING, BUT WILL HAVE TO INSURE THAT THE EXODUS OF THE WORKERS IN KINSHASA IS CAREFULLY PLANNED AND PHASED TO PRECLUDE DISRUPTION OF THE ZAIRIAN ECONOMY.
- 5. THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY IS FOREMOST IN THE MINDS OF THE WHITES. THOSE BORN IN ANGOLA, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO RACE, ARE TO BE CONSIDERED ANGOLANS UNLESS THEY CHOOSE ANOTHER NATIONALITY TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED. THE RIGHT OF ANYONE NOW LIVING, BUT NOT BORN, IN ANGOLA REGARDLESS OF RACE, TO REQUEST ANGOLAN CITIZENSHIP IS RECOGNIZED IN THE AGREEMENT. A MIXED PORTUGUESE-ANGOLAN COMMISSION IS TO BE ESTABLISHED TO PROMULGATE PROCEDURES BY WHICH PEOPLE NOT BORN IN ANGOLA MAY REQUEST ANGOLAN CITIZENSHIP.

6. IT IS APPARENT FROM THE AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS OTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS, THAT WHITES NOT BORN IN ANGOLA WILL HAVE TO MAKE A

SPECIFIC DECLARATION FOR ANGOLA, AND PRESUMABLY SURRENDER THEIR PORTUGUESE CITIZENSHIP IF THEY DO SO. IT IS UNCLEAR IF ALL WHITES WHO REQUEST ANGOLAN CITIZENSHIP WILL AUTOMATICALLY RECEIVE IT. THIS WILL BE A DIFFICULT DECISION FOR MOST WHITES, WHO SEE NO ECONOMIC FUTURE FOR THEMSELVES IN PORTUGAL, BUT ARE AFRAID OF BEING TRAPPED IN ANGOLA IT IT ERUPTS IN CIVIL WAR OR IS GOVERNED BY A REPRESSIVE BLACK REGIME. KILLORAN

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## Message Attributes

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